
Querela Temporum :

OR, THE
Danger of the Church of *England*.

In a LETTER from the Dean of ——— to ———
Prebend of

Charles Leslie

Dear S I R,

LET me employ some few Moments in venting my Thoughts to you at a distance, upon that Subject which has taken up so many of our Hours while we were together. The Impression grows stronger upon me now that I am alone, and left to the mercy of tormenting Reflections. The Ruin, which you and I have often benighted, visibly threatening our Church, is exceedingly magnify'd, and imminuent to me, and must be to

us all, when we sadly consider how we have been led on in our Simplicity, like the Men that followed *Abalom*, to be the Instruments of our own Destruction : And have been engaged so far in it, before we were aware, that we are now afraid to look back, though we are astonish'd to think what the end of all may be.

I am sufficiently assured, That much the greatest part of the Clergy have come in to the Government, as you and I have
A done,

done, out of a Prospect to preserve the Church: For if all had stuck out, we did dreadfully apprehend that the Presbyterians, considering our King's Education and Bias that way, and their great Merit in the Revolution; (for we were but drawn in, and that late, by a seeming necessity, and unwillingly.) Our Reluctance, which we could not conceal (and at first many of us did not desire to conceal it) was the publick Discourse of the Nation; and so much taken notice of, that the Act imposing the Oaths did not suppose that all the Clergy would take them, and therefore left a Provision for a certain Number of such of them as should refuse the Oaths (which I am heartily sorry has not been apply'd;) and those of us who took the Oaths, did it with such Distinctions, and Declarations, and Salvos, as made it plain to all the World, That we were not hearty in it, but had a doubting, which is a resisting Conscience. Whereas the Presbyterians, and Common-wealth men, (with some Atheists and Latitudinarians, who call'd themselves of our Church, though no otherwise than because it was Established by Law) were at the bottom of the whole Contrivance of the Revolution; and Derided us to see into what a Noose they had brought us, that we knew

not what to Resolve upon: Whether to venture the Reproach of the Nation, by a Change of Principles (at least as it would be thought) and to go in to the Government; or to leave *K. William* wholly in their hands who brought him in, and to run the hazard of all the Consequences would follow from his looking upon the Church of *England* as his Enemies, and the Presbyterians as the only Church which would stick by him. I say, these Considerations, joyned with his own Inclination, and the little Zeal of the Generality of the Laity for any Church or Religion, farther than suited with their Interests, made us to apprehend, That if we had not taken the Oaths, the whole Church might have been over-turn'd all at once; and Presbytery, or Something like it, set up in its Place, as has been done in *Scotland*.

When these Considerations had determin'd us in this matter, we were not yet without great Fears what might be the Consequence, on the other hand, that *K. William* could not possibly but see that our Conversion was Forced, and *Counterfeit*, and would (as such Conversions always do) make us greater Enemies to him than we were before: And that therefore having served his Ends by us, he wou'd watch his time to

to destroy us. That he might compass it more easily, though may be not so *speedily* by our Compliance, having by that made us cheap, and broken our *Autority* with the People. And (O my Friend!) how has he succeeded in that! If that was his Design. I believe no Age can produce so sudden and great a Change; as 'twixt the Affections of the People to us at this time, and what they were while King *James* was here. I am sure it is a changed World with us, whatever it may be to others. We were then *Hosanna'd*; and now it is next door to *Crucify*, while they cannot refrain shewing a Concern and Reverence for our *Depriv'd Brethren*. So that it is plain, the Cause of our *Contempt* is our Compliance with those who do now *Reproach* us: And it is needless to argue, That they are in the same Fault, and were first in the Fault, and drew or forced us in. They say we were their *Guides*, and ought to have led them, and not to have been led by them. They think it no great matter for them to be in a Fault; they think they have a Privilege to be less strict than the *Clergy*; and to be severe upon our *Miscarriages*, seems, in some sort, a *Vindication*, at least an *Alleviation* of their own: Which, though a very bad Argument, yet we suffer under it.

And it terrifies me to consider how much we may yet suffer by it, when I reflect that the *Inclination of the People* was made a sufficient Pretence to Root out Episcopacy in *Scotland*, notwithstanding that the Prince of *Orange's Declaration* to that Kingdom from the *Hague*, before he came over, bound him to preserve their Church, as then *Established by Law*, as well as ours.

If you think that the *Inclinations of the People* can never be made a Pretence against *Episcopacy in England*; you will alter your Opinion when you see how little Reason there was for that Pretence in *Scotland*; as it is made fully appear in the *Defences* and *Apologies* of the *Episcopal Church of Scotland*, which have been printed Here since this *Revolution*: Which also give an Account by what Means and Methods a *Convention* was obtained there, which should Vote against *Episcopacy*.

As to the first, *The Inclinations of the People*; take the Account given in one of their *Apologies*, which was Digested into *Ten Questions*, and printed Here, *An. 1690.* which informs us,

'That the Nobility of the Kingdom, (a very few, not above a Dozen excepted) had all sworn the *Oath*, commonly called the *Test*; wherein all *Fanatical Principles* and *Covenants*
'*Obl.*

' Obligations were Renounced and
 ' Abjured: That not one of *Forty*
 ' of the *Gentry*, but had sworn it
 ' also; and that not *Fifty* (Gen-
 ' tlemen) in all *Scotland* (out
 ' of the *West*) did upon the *Indul-*
 ' dence Granted by King *James*,
 ' *An. 1687.* forsake their *Parish*
 ' Churches to frequent *Meeting*
 ' Houses.

' That the Generality of the
 ' Commons live in *Cities*, and *Mar-*
 ' ket Towns; that all who could
 ' be of the *Common Council* in such
 ' Corporations, or were able to
 ' follow any *ingenious Trade*, were
 ' obliged to take the *Test* (and
 ' had generally done it:) That
 ' the Clergy stood all for *Episco-*
 ' pacy, there being of about a
 ' *Thousand* scarcely *Twenty* Trim-
 ' mers betwixt the Bishop and
 ' the *Presbyterian Moderator*:
 ' Which *Twenty*, together with
 ' all the *Presbyterian Preachers*,
 ' could not make up the *Fifth*
 ' part of such a Number as the
 ' other Side amounted to. That
 ' in all the *Universities*, there were
 ' not *Four Masters*, *Heads*, or
 ' *Fellows*, inclined to *Presbytery*:
 ' That the *Colleges of Justice* and
 ' *Physick at Edinburgh* were so
 ' averse from it, that the Gene-
 ' rality of them were ready last
 ' Summer (*viz. 1689.*) to take
 ' Arms in Defence of their *Epis-*
 ' copal Ministers.

Thus that Author. And, which
 is yet a far greater Confirmation

of all this to us, his *spiteful Pres-*
byterian Adversary, *G. K.* in his
 first *Vindication of the* (*Presbyte-*
rian) *Church of Scotland*, which
 was writ in answer to these *Ten*
Queries, and printed here in *Lon-*
don, 1690. and reprinted at *Eden-*
burgh, 1691. gives such an Answer
 to this, as is a plain Confession
 of it. He yields plainly, all the
 Gang of the Clergy, (as he calls
 them) except a few: The *Uni-*
versities, and *College of Justice*, at
 least, as lately stated; and the Ge-
 nerality of the *Burgesses*.

But then he endeavours to
 make some Amusements as to
 the so *universal Defection* (in his
 Sense) of the *Nobility and Gentry*;
 not only in taking the *Anti-Pres-*
byterian Tests, in the Reign of
 King *Charles the Second* (as *Fear*,
Interest, and such fordid Excuses)
 but in adhering still to the *Epis-*
copal Communion after King
James's Free Indulgence, 1687. for
 which no Reason can be given
 but their own *Inclinations*; the
Favour from Court lying then ra-
 ther on the other side.

In another of these *Scots*
 Tracts, called, *An Account of the*
present Persecution of the Church of
Scotland, published 1690. there
 in the third Letter we read,

' That in the Years 1687, and
 ' 1688, when the Schism was in
 ' its Elevation, there were but
 ' some *Three or Four Presbyterian*
 ' Meeting-houses erected on the
 ' North-

'*North-side of Tay*, i. e. in the
'greater half of the Kingdom;
'and these too very little fre-
'quented or encouraged. And
'that on the *South-side* of that
'River (except in the Five asso-
'ciated Shires in the *West*) the
'*Third Man* was never engaged
'in the Schism.

In short, we are assured, as
well by these Authorities in
Print, as by Gentlemen of Sense
and Reputation out of that Coun-
try, that not a *Fifth* or *Sixth* part
of the People of *Scotland* did
joyn, at that time, with the
Presbyterians.

And that was the Time to
shew their *Inclinations*, when they
might not only do it without
Fear or *Hazard*, but with all the
Prospects of *Advantage* and *Pre-
ferment*.

How much more constant and
firm were they to the *Church* in
that Kingdom than in this! We
did not bear the *Temptation* with
so little Loss as they.

Every *Toleration* and *Indulgence*
which has been granted in *Eng-
land* has made much more Ha-
vock, and brought more Ruin
to the *Church*, than we find this
(the most dangerous one.) has
done in *Scotland*. We have not
yet Recover'd from the Mischief
of that in 1672. Before which
our *Church* seem'd to have taken
some Root, and the *Dissenters*
were wearing much out of Fa-

shion; many of the Chief of
whom, seeing a fair likelihood of
the perpetuity of the *Church*,
were content to suffer their Chil-
dren to be Educated in our Com-
munion; though themselves were
ashamed to comply, after the
long Oppositions they had made:
Which shewed they were con-
vinced both of the *Lawfulness*
and *Expediency* of *Conformity*.

But *Fire* amidst *Gun-powder*
does not work its destructive Ef-
fect more suddenly, than that *To-
leration* Shook and Rent, and al-
most *Over turn'd* our *Church*. The
very next Sunday after it was
known, the *Churches* in many
Places were almost quite Deser-
ted, and the *Meeting-houses*, which
before were Neglected, and Re-
sorted to by but a few, and those
little Regarded, were like *Tren-
ches*, when the Sea has broke the
Dykes, swoln and over-flown in
a Moment.

And *Toleration* upon *Toleration*
has brought Ruin upon Ruin since;
that we are now Loose at the
very *Roots*, and at the Mercy of
every *Wind* and *Wave*.

And by the Accounts we have
given us of *Scotland*, they are
both more *universally* and more
zealously Episcopal (especially if
you consider the *Gentry* and *No-
bility*) than the People even in
England.

Of which there is another ve-
ry great Instance, since the *Scot's*

Treatises above quoted were wrote. And that is, That, notwithstanding the several Acts of Parliament there for Abolishing *Episcopacy*, and Settling the *Presbyterian* Government, and all the fiery Zeal of the *Covenanters* now in Possession, yet, through most parts of the *North*, and many other parts of *Scotland*, they, to this day, refuse to admit the *Presbyterian Ministers*, who were sent to them, or to part with their old *Episcopal Clergy*, though they neither *Swear* nor *Pray* according to the *Acts*: But keep them still in Possession of their Churches, and Renounce the Authority of the *General Assembly*, as not being Lawfully Constituted without *Bishops*. And have lately published a Paper in the Name of *the whole Ministers* *North Tay*; and Twelve Ministers at *Aberdeen* gave it, in their own Names, and the Names of all the rest, to the *Commissioners of the General Assembly*, wherein they stand still by their Depriv'd *Bishops*: And as the *Representation of the (said) Committee of the Assembly for the North of Scotland, to the Privy Council of that Kingdom*, printed now by Authority in *London* this *October 94.* does express it, They not only plainly question their Authority, (*viz.* of the *General Assembly*) but the Authority of the Law whereby the Government of this Church is

settled. Nay more, the *Depriv'd Bishops* there do not only continue to confer *Holy Orders*, but to fill the Churches with those so Ordain'd; and the People keep them in. As it is complain'd of in the said *Representation* which has been Dispersed by the *Presbyterian Faction* through the *Coffee-houses* in *London*, as an Aggravation of the Obstinacy of the *Scots Episcopalians* against the Government, as they would have it understood; with some Queries added, to Disengage us who have complied with this Government, from any concern for the *Scots Episcopalians*.

But if the *Presbyterian Interest* is so Low in *Scotland*, how came they of late Years to make so great a Noise here? Were They not the People who formed the *Rebellions of Pent-land Hills, and Bothwell Bridge*?

Yes. And were so easily quelled, as shewed the Party to have neither Interest, nor Conduct, nor any other Qualification to render them Considerable, besides that of a mad Zeal; like our *Fifth-monarchy Man*, which, grafted upon *Præservandum Scotorum Ingenium, & ad audendum aptum*, produced horrid Assassinations and desperate Rebellions, without any apprehension of Danger or Impossibilities: For *quicquid Scoti agunt, valde agunt*; The *Scots* do every thing to the utmost.

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But how came that Party to gain such a *Convention* there, as to Vote *Episcopacy* & *Grievance*, and contrary to the *Inclinations* of the *People*, as it is expressed in their *Claim of Right*? This looks like *Management*, or else was very good *Luck*.

There was Both in it, as the *Scots Episcopal Apologists* do explain it to us; and shew the Arts of the Ministers of State who were employ'd in that Affair. That poor Rabble of *Covenanters* in *Scotland* were but the *Tools* who followed the *Cue* given them; they had other help than their own.

But there were some *Concurrents* in that *Juncture*, which contributed more than all the *Politics*.

The Nation was in a violent Ferment; and every one almost, except those of the *Cabal*, were unwilling to Dip themselves in the First Act of a New *Constitution*, not knowing where it might end. Besides, the *Episcopalians* were, and are still, generally affected towards King *James*; and took as much Pains to keep themselves out of that *Convention*, as the *Presbyterians* did to come into it. All which did not (it could not) prevent many more of the *Episcopalians* to be Return'd than of the *Presbyterians*; the *Episcopalians* being so very much the major Number, especially

among the better sort. But many of the *Episcopalians* would not Sit; and many who Sat once, quitted the House, and would appear no more; thinking it culpable to be there. And others were forced away to save their Lives from the Fury of the *Fanatical Rabble*, who were arm'd, and made the Guard of the *Convention*, as that extraordinary Man Sir George Mac Kenzie, and others. Sir George Lockhart, a most eminent Lawyer, and who violently opposed the *Vacancy* of the *Throne*, was assassinated in the Streets of *Edinburgh*; some say it was only through a private Pique, but that did not appear to all. The Archbishop of *Glasgow*, and others of the Clergy, were openly Insulted in the Streets, and no Remedy. And before the *Convention* was turn'd into a *Parliament*, the Bishops were, by particular Instruments sent to Duke *Hamilton*, then *Commissioner*, excluded from their Right of Sitting in *Parliament*.

Yet notwithstanding of all this purging, they could not get that *Parliament* so model'd, that, if but *Half* of them had Sit, they would ever have abolished *Episcopacy*, or set up *Presbytery*: And the *Scots Episcopal Party* do vouch, That there were not one *Third* part of the *Members* present, when *Presbytery* was there Establish'd.

I am not now meddling with their Reasons, why they would not venture to Sit and Vote, at all Hazards. This is only to shew that no *Parliament* can be had in *Scotland*, which if Freely Sitting, would Abolish *Episcopacy*: And that the *Inclinations of the People* cannot be justly collected from what was done by that. Less than a *Third* part of a *Parliament*; and that gather'd together by strange *Artifices*, as the *Scotch* Accounts do inform us, as plain as they dare speak, in the Management of their *Election*, and of the Prince of *Orange's* circular Letter, by which that *Convention* was call'd, being sent where Preparations were made for its Reception, by some Places *later*, and to some not at all, who yet had Right of Electing Members for *Parliament*.

Yet all this could produce no such Appearance in the *Convention* as would answer their Designs, but they were forced to take into that *Convention* Men Out-lawed for Treason, and under other *Legal* Incapacities to Sit in *Parliament*, by the *Laws* and *Tests* then in Force; as my Lord *Argyle* himself, who, before his *Attainder* was taken-off by the *Parliament*, Sat in that *Convention*, and was sent up *Hither* with the *Tender* of the *Crown* of *Scotland*.

And when they had done all, tryed all *their Ways and Means*, Legal and Illegal, what a contemptible Appearance was it which they were able to procure, at the first opening of the *Convention* or *Meeting of the Estates*, (as they stil'd it) which was the 14th of *March*, 1688.

Of this we have a certain *Record*, which is the *Acts and Orders of the Meeting of the Estates of the Kingdom of Scotland*, extracted out of their Register, and printed by Authority in *Edenburgh*, 1690.

There in the *Act Declaring the Meeting of the Estates to be a Free and Lawful Meeting*, the 16th of *March*, 1688. all there present do subscribe the said *Act*, and all their Names are printed in the said *Act*. And there were but *Fifty Burgesses* in that *Convention*.

Neither must we reckon upon all that small Number it self, as appears by their Fourth *Act*, which is entitled, *An Act for putting the Kingdom in a Posture of Defence*, the 19th of *March*, 1688. wherein we are told that several of the *Members* who had subscribed the former *Act*, had (in that three Days time) *Deserted the Meeting of the Estates*, and presum'd openly to correspond with the *Duke of Gordon*, since the *Proclamation of Intercommuning against him*,

him, and to Retire from this Place (Edenburgh) in form of Weirt; and therefore commandsall from Sixteen to Sixty to Arm,&c.

The Matter was, many of those *Few* who came to the *Convention* did not know the Designs of the *Managers*; which, as soon as they perceived, and that there was a *Form'd Party* to carry it on, they immediately quit the *Convention*, in *Form of War* (as that *Act* says) and openly Declared for *King James*. Among these was my Lord *Dundee*, who sat the first Day of the *Convention*, and his Name is among those who subscribed the first *Act* above mentioned.

There were likewise *Seven Bishops*, whose Names are printed the First of the Subscribers.

But their Archbishop (of *St. Andrews*) as ours, would not come into the *Convention* at all; and it seems all the rest, but the above-said *Seven*, were of his mind. And that even these *Seven* were of those who (as Lord *Dundee*, &c) immediately quitted the *Convention*. I say, immediately; for they subscribed on the 16th of *March*, and the *Hue and Cry* after them was in the above-said *Act* of the 19th of the same Month.

So that if we are to make any Computation of the *Inclinations* of the People from this *Convention*, it will operate rather against the present Establishment *There*, from

the small Appearance of the *Burgesses*, and their great and sudden *Desertion*.

But if the *Inclinations* of the People is best known by the Sense of *Parliaments*, then it must follow, That all along since the Reformation the *Inclinations* of the People of Scotland have been for *Episcopacy*; which has been ratified and confirmed by 27 *Parliaments* in that Kingdom, (as they are Reckon'd up in these *Scotch Episcopal Papers*) and where no such Objections, as in the present Case, can be Alledged. Add to this, what I think a plain Confession, That the *Presbyterians* dare not trust a *Free Parliament* in Scotland; and that is, that notwithstanding the great Objection of a *Convention* (not called together in the Legal Form) becoming a *Parliament* by a Vote of their own, who were not a *Parliament* before that Vote, or any otherwise than by that Vote, by virtue only of the Words themselves pronounced, when they said *Hoc est Parliamentum*, (which some have compared to Transubstantiation;) I say, notwithstanding that the *Convention-Parliament* in England found it necessary, for this Reason, to have the *Convention-Parliament* dissolved, and a new *Parliament* chosen by the *King's Writ*, in the usual Form: because (as was truly alledg'd) the *Convention* was

was but in the Nature of a *Volunteer*, no Man being obliged to obey the *Circular Letters* of a *Foreign Prince* before he was declared *our King*. Nor did his *Circular Letters* import any other than a *Voluntary Compliance* which he expected should be paid to them. And therefore the Subjects would not think their *Liberties* preserved, unless they had the *Antient Freedom of Election* reserved to them, to chuse Members to serve in *Parliament*, knowing before hand that it was to be a *Parliament* : For a *Convention* was new, both Name and Thing ; and few understood either the Nature of it, or the Ends and Purposes for which it was summon'd ; and to *metamorphose* that into a *Parliament*, and then to continue it as such, would be understood as a plain *Cheat* to *Trick* the People out of their Votes. Yet all these (obvious) Reasons, and the Example of *England* notwithstanding, the *Presbyterian* Managers in *Scotland* dare not summon a new *Parliament*, but keep on still the old *Convention* with the new Name of a *Parliament* : And though they know that many of the *Episcopal* Perswasion There, are so Zealous, upon the point of the *Government*, that they would not come in, though there were a new *Parliament*, yet the *Presbyterians* dare not trust those that

might come in, against all their own Strength, and all the *Trimmers* they could Bribe or Frigten to their side. For they could never, by their Arts, compass such a *Parliament* as would not spue out *Presbytery*, as a *Yoke* which neither they nor their Fathers were able to bear. They know it to be utterly impossible for them ever again to get such a Company of *Conventioners*, as by their secret Intelligence laid (without opposition or suspicion of the *Episcopal Party*) leap'd together, and chose one another, upon the Prince of *Orange's Circular Letters*, which were left wholly to their Management.

If all this be causelessly alledged ; let them convince us with the Free and Impartial Election of another *Parliament*.

Or give any other Reason why they will not, than that they dare not Trust the *Inclinations of the People* ; which they know to be the most averse to them, and most deservedly.

There is another Thing which extremely shews the Weakness of the *Presbyterian* Interest there : And that is, That they would never have been able to have planted *Presbyterian Ministers* there, if the Right of *Patronages* had continued ; for there were but very few Gentlemen in that Kingdom, to whom *Advousores* did belong, who would ever have

have presented any Clerk that was Presbyterianly inclin'd. Therefore all Patronages were taken away by Act of this Parliament.

After which one would have expected that the Free Election of the People should have been set up in its full Extent and Prerogative; because this was it for which the Presbyterians chiefly contended; they made it to be *Jure Divino*, and call'd it, *Christ's Legacy* to the People; and said it was *Indefeasible* and *Unalienable* from them.

But yet they were forced to Dispense with it, at the First, and put the Calling of Ministers into the hands of the Presbytery: For they found the Inclinations of the People Run against them, at least of much the major Number, as well as of the Nobility and Gentry, and therefore this Method was necessary (though Antichristian, by their own Principles) for the first planting of the Gospel (as they stile the Preaching of the Covenant) in that Prelatical Country.

Neither durst they, for the time to come, trust the People with their Divine Right of Electing their Ministers, without clogging this Legacy of Christ (as they call'd it) with such Limitations as they could not pretend are to be found in Scripture. That none should Vote in the Election of Ministers till they first swore the

Oath of Allegiance to K. William and Q. Mary, and sign the Assurance; for which an Act of Parliament is passed accordingly.

Yet, with all these Bars and Defences, they found very great Difficulties in planting those Churches, which they have planted with Presbyterian Ministers.

Who were so few in that Country, That they were forc'd to Ordain young Lads from Shops, or the Plow, as they could get them Gifted, without any University Learning: For these Springs, as themselves confess, were all corrupted; that is, in their Sense, were wholly Episcopal.

And in the North of Scotland! (as confessed in the Presbyterian Representation above-told) they have got little or no Footing to this Day. In which parts they are so strongly Episcopal; that, as I read in a very accurate and ingenious Account of the Proceedings there about the Convention-time. *It were no hard Task, says he, to give a just Account how it only happen'd that there was so much as one Northern Member (who was not such by Birth) of the Presbyterian Persuasion in the Meeting of the Estates.*

But there can be no such Demonstration, as their preserving their Episcopal Clergy, and keeping out the Presbyterian, against Repeated

peated *Acts of Parliament*; and that the *Privy Council* (which has there almost the Power of a *Parliament*, in the Intervals of *Parliament*) have interposed their Authority to Ratify the Decrees of the *Presbytery*.

Nay, even in their own Dear *West Country*, the *Presbyterians* found so much Difficulty, in some Places, particularly near *Edenburgh*, to perfect their *Reformation*, that they were forced to fill a Church there with *Soldiers* to fright the People from Singing the *Doxology*, from which they could not otherwise be Reduced. Was not this something like Dragooning! But I go on.

It may be thought Strange (Things being as here told) what Ground or Pretence could be found for Representing *Episcopacy* to be contrary to the *Inclinations of these People*.

And herein appears a *Subtile* but very wicked *Politick* of the *Managers* then at *Helm*.

They first had Arms put into the hands of the mad *Cameronian* true *Presbyterian* Rabble of the *West*, and then set them on to Mob the *Episcopal Clergy*, in those *Fanatical Shires*, which they executed in a most *Savage Manner*: And from thence they Represented the *Inclinations of the People* to be irreconcilable to *Episcopacy*. And upon Enquiry, I

cannot find that there is any now, who insist longer upon that common Place of the *Inclinations of the People of Scotland*: It, like some other Stories has serv'd its Turn, except one *Sycophant*, who had *Presbyterian* Education, and from his Infancy was taught to Hate and Despise *Episcopacy*, who has Deserted his Church in *East Lothian*, and was Expell'd neither by Force, nor by the Rabble, nor any Sentence of any *Presbyterian Judicature*; but fearing that the Gentry of his Parish, to whom he was always most Disagreeable, would lay hold of the present Opportunity to turn him out, when their *Inclinations* was made the Standard, he thought it convenient to leave the Place with less Disgrace.

And he is now encouraged by a certain Minister of State, to propagate that Notion here in *England*, that the Temper of the People in *Scotland* is against *Episcopacy*, and most inclin'd to *Presbytery*. And the Rabbling of the *Episcopal Clergy* in some parts of the *West*, is all the Argument.

This is all, and every bit of, the Ground the *Convention*, or any other, had to Represent the *Inclinations of the People* as averse to *Prelacy*.

Nor had they had this Pretence it self, if *All the People* even in those same *Fanatical Shires*, had

had been left to their own *Inclinations*: For when the College of *Justice* in *Edenburgh*, and others (in whom remain'd what was left of any Right to *Govern*, after King *James* quitted *England*, and before any other *Establishment* was fram'd) took Arms against this murdering *Rabble*, in the Defence of the *Episcopal Clergy*, and *Themselves*, (for such an *Inundation* threaten'd *All*) a *Proclamation* came out from the Prince of *Orange* commanding *All* to lay down their Arms. This was obey'd by the College of *Justice*, and the rest of the *Episcopal Party*: (as thinking it tending towards Peace and Settlement:) But not at all by the others Saying they knew it was not intended against *Them*. And accordingly made use of it (their Enemies being thus Disarm'd) to commit more insolent Barbarities against the *Clergy* than before.

And in Reward for their Zeal, were not only continu'd in Arms, but made the Guard of the *Convention*, which soon after met, under their *Gracious Protection*, and acted by their *Influence*. *Theirs*! who thought it *Merit*, and the *Cause of God*, to assassinate the Archbishop of *St. Andrews* on the High-way; and declared it their Principle to murder, by whatever means, every *Bishop*; and every *King* and *Man* who

took their part. *Theirs*! who for *Declaring* and *Acting* pursuant to such *Diabolical Principles* (though *All* the *Genuine Effects* of their common Mother the *Covenant*) were (out of meer Shame) disown'd by other their *Pharisee Brethren* of the *Presbyterians* for throwing off the *Sheeps-Cloathing*, and acting the *Wolf* so plainly and above Board: For *Abdicating* not only the *Simplicity* of the *Dove*, but the *Prudence* of the *Sergeant*, of whom they retain'd nothing but the *Sting*. And who could have any other thought than that *Episcopacy* was Reserved only for *Execution*, when it was placed under such *Cameronian Guards*?

And when the most Violent and Bigotted *Phanaticks* were made the Principal *Ministers of State*?

But who was it chose those *Ministers*? That must be the *Kings Inclination*. He chose them according to his own *Inclinations*; and then took their Word, for the *Inclinations of the People*.

And can we think his *Inclinations* are different in *England*, otherwise than as *Reason of State* moves him?

The *Experiment* must Begin in *Scotland*: And according to the Success there, the Measures are to be taken here.

And do we not see the same Measures taken here, though

perhaps in somewhat a slower March?

Has not a certain great Man, of an Interest very contrary to that of the *Church*; one whose Treachery towards *it* has made him an irreconcilable and inveterate Enemy to *it*, been brought from behind the Curtain, where he acted so much Mischief unseen, and now in a manner publickly set upon the Stage? Has he not acted indeed as one desperate, and that knows himself unsafe under any thing but a *Fanatick* Party established in both Kingdoms; as one that can hope for no forgiveness from another Interest which he has so perfidiously treated, and where all those that are leading and respected Men know him so well, have felt him, and are sure neither to be imposed upon by him more, nor ever to forget what he has done to the Church, and against them as the Patrons of it? Have we not seen how things have turn'd since this? Was not the whole Ministry changed to bring in that Gang? How had such a Fellow as *Jack Trenchard*, or *Somers*, been hoisted upon a sudden where they now are, but meerly on this Account, that they only were thought deep enough in a *Fanatick* Interest to carry on this Design, and to support this new Foundation of some great Men, who must make

good what they are engaged in, and secure themselves by *thorough work*, or soon fall, and come to that end which they deserve?

My Lord *Nottingham*, a Man who they offer to reproach with nothing but his Fidelity to *our Church*, and his constant Care of its Interest; one of such allow'd Capacity, Vigilancy, and indefatigable Diligence in his Office, and of such known Fidelity to the Crown and this Government; such a Man as this we see of a sudden removed, and without any reason given (but what is thus plainly left for any one to infer) thrust out of his Employment, disgraced, and driven at as one ready to be impeached; which Design it was no great wonder to see carried on under such as could not prevent their being themselves impeached, were the Government as it ought to be, or the *Church* restored to that Place which it ought to have, and which one may very justly say *it must have*, unless *Monarchy* be design'd for Ruin.

The Justification which the Parliament last Year gave to the *Admirals*, after the most malicious and false Aspersions imaginable, did not hinder their being thrown out with all the Disgrace that could be put upon them. At least those Two that were the Chief, and chiefly noted

noted for their Firmness to the Church, were so served. What are the rest of the Changes in the Admiralty, and every where else? What are the *Russels*, and the *Whartons*, that are now in such Credit, and have their Friends every where advanced? Who knows not the *Cabal* at Court, and that Lord *Sh*—— who first went out of Court upon this bottom, and is now returned again upon the same, is of this Confederacy; and both too early, and too deeply, engaged

with this Party to be a Head or a leading Man any where else?

Our Friends are shifted out of place. And now openly, and above Board, there have been new Regulations of all the Commissions of the Peace and Militia through England; of the *Lieutenancy of London*, the *Customs*, &c. on purpose to fill all with the *Fanatical* and *Whiggish* Tribe; who have out-grown us, and are too many for us, in all Places of *Trust* and *Profit*. *

* Either professed and open Dissenters, or the more dangerous Church Fanatics; who keep in our Communion no otherways than as Spies; who ridicule us, and do us all the ill Offices that is in their Power; and but watch an Opportunity to destroy us, and our Constitution. Of such Principles (most Iniquitous to the Church) are the present Attorney and Solicitor General, and almost all the King's Council, as *W. Williams*, *Serjeant Tompson*, *Mr. Hawles*, &c. *Baron Letchmore*, *Baron Tutton*, that little *Baron Tell Clock Mr. Bradbury*, and others upon the Bench. And with *Russel* are joyn'd in the Commission of the Admiralty that virulent Whig *Col. Austen*; and *Rich* and *Hublon*, two rigid Fanatics. Such are *Montague* and *Smith*, two of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, indefatigable Sticklers for the Whig Party. *Papillion* and *Mayne*, in the Victualling-Office; and *Hill* of the Navy-Office. *Sir J. Foach*, *Sir Steph. Evans*, *Ed. Clark*, *Tho. Hall*, *J. Danvers*, (the only Son of a Regicide) and *Foot Onslow* in the Excise. *Parkhurst*, *Murray*, *Vernon*, and *Paschal*, in the Prize Office. *Col. Kirby*, *Shepherd*, and *Welwood*, in that for the Sick and Wounded. *Ashurst*, in that of the Hackney Coaches; and *Franklin* in the Post-Office. And in the Custom-house, *Sir Walter Young*, *Mr. Chedwick*, *Sir Patience Ward*, *Sir Robert Clayton*. And a long, &c. in other Offices and Places of Trust through the Kingdom, too long to be here inserted. The Whig, and (I know not which to say) Natural or Unnatural Libertine, the Lord *Sidney*, now Earl of *Rumney*, is made Master of the Ordnance, and Governour of the Cinque Ports, and *Dover Castle*, &c. And Whig, *Sir Tho. Littleton*, is under him in the Ordnance.

Ordinance. Lord Cuts, an Atheistical Whig, is made Governour of the Isle of Wight. These, and many more, are the Men now employ'd.

Little needy Fellows are put into Employments of greatest Honour and Import, so they be but Fanatick enough.

As *Johnston* Secretary for *Scotland*, who the other day meerly for Bread travell'd with *Sir Rob. Barnard*, his Condition being then very necessitous, though he is now one of the chief Managers in both Kingdoms. His only Merit is the new fashion'd *Theism*, grafted upon rigid *Fanaticism*; the List of which he derived from his Father, that Arch Rebel *Wariston*, who was Clerk in ordinary to the *Presbyterian General Assembly* in his time, and as furious against the *Mitre* as the *Crown*.

Such another is that Infamous *James Stuart*, an *Inveterate Rebel*, and pardon'd by King *James*, now Knighted (*forsooth!*) and fills the Place of Lord *Advocate*, which answers to that of *Attorney General* here; but of greater Honour and Interest in the *State*.

Cassairs, a *Super-presbyterian*, that is, a *Cameronian Preacher*, attends *K. William's* Person, both at home and abroad, like a Jewel in his Ear: We make a Show in the Chapel, but He Exercises the Office of *Confessor* in the Closet.

His Advice is taken in all the *Spiritual Promotions* of our

Church; and we feel the Effects of it very sensibly.

We see among the new made Bishops those who were formerly *Fanatical Preachers*; and those who, of all our Number, are least Zealous for the Church, and most *Latitudinarian*, for a *Comprehension* of *Dissenters*, and a *Dispensation* with our *Liturgy* and *Discipline*. The Archbishop himself has put on a strange *Moderation* that way.

The Tide runs strong both in Church and State towards a *Fanatical Level*. And the Pattern of the *Scottish Reformation* stares us in the Face, more Glaringly than in 42.

And let us remember, That the *Covenant* (now Rampant in *Scotland*) obliges them to carry on the work of that Reformation in *England*, as well as in *Scotland*, as they did before: And they have the *Impudence* to pray publicly for it now in their Churches, for our *Conversion* (as they call it) from *Prelacy*, which they call *Popery*; and *Idolatry*, that is, our *Liturgy*.

And yet their *Agents* there would make us believe, That they intend no Alteration of our Constitution in *England*.

But are we to be so Deceived now? Have we never been Deceived

ceived by them, in the same manner, before? How often did they protest to Marquis Hamilton, Commissioner for King Charles the First, That they did not intend to abolish *Episcopacy*? [*Large Declaration*, 114, 115. 69. and 173.]

And they used to persuade the Scrupulous, That they might take the Covenant without prejudice to *Episcopacy*.

In their Answer to the Fourth Reply of the Doctors of *Aberdeen*, they say, *You will have all the Covenanters against their Intention, and whether they will or not, to Disallow and Condemn the Articles of Perth, and Episcopal Government.*— But it is known to many Hundreds, that the Words were purposely conceived for Satisfaction of such as were of your Judgment, that we might all joyn in one Heart and Covenant.

They had *Lower* and *Higher* Senses of this Oath. Any thing to get you once within their Circle; and though they press the Obligation of it upon all alike, like the Artifice of some of the *Romish* *Emissaries*, who, to a Person tenacious of the *Reformed* Doctrines, represent the Church of *Rome* as little or nothing differing from us in *Fundamentals*, as they call them; and will let him keep all the Opinions they can't persuade him from, only be reconciled to the Church,

to avoid *Schism*: But when he is once in, then there is no stop, they can Drive him to the utmost. They bring in many Hundreds of their private Doctors for the lower Sense of their General Councils; as their Spawn of the Covenant do leave their many Hundreds of private Persons, who they at first pretended knew their Minds in wording of the Covenant, to be much lower than the Letter of the Oath seemed to import.

But yet they would never afterwards allow any such private Interpretations, as the true and natural Sense of the Oath. But boldly charged them of *Perjury*, who in the least Tittle departed from them.

And how many Oaths and Protestations had we from our *English* Parliament in 42. That they never intended the Abolition either of *Episcopacy*, or the *Liturgy*? But, on the contrary, they expressed a great Zeal for Both; till they had got a Set of *Fanatical* Ministers in the State, and They then soon introduced Ministers of the same Kidney into the Church.

And did not they then set up the Inclinations of the People on their side? And did not they carry it?

And yet they had not half the Pretence as now. For, before that Rebellion, England had been

len; in the quiet Possession of *Episcopacy*, without almost any Grumbling against it; and that but of so small and inconsiderable a Party, as did not seem worth notice. These Monsters were Bred, and Grew up, in the Storm: But since the *Over-flowing* of that *Schismatical Rebellion*, our Land has been Fertile of as many *Heterogenious* Productions, as the Mud of *Nilus* leaves upon *Egypt*. There are almost as many various *Sects* and *Armies of Dissenters* now, as there were single *Mutineers* at that time.

And oh! the Difference! *England* had a *King* then who was Bred from his Childhood in the *Episcopal* Communion, and zealous for it, even to *Martyrdom*.

But our present King had the Misfortune (to himself, and to us) to be Educated under the *Geneva* Model, made *Erastian* in *Holland*: And it cannot be imagined, That the Alteration of his present *Circumstances* have wrought as great a Change in his *Principles*: That would be (if not a *Miracle*) to suppose him to be wholly *Latitudinarian*, and indifferent to all *Religions*; at least as to *Church Government*, which is the Point *We* are concern'd for.

But (alas!) the Measures he has taken in *Scotland*, and *here* too (as fast as it can go) has sadly undeceived us; and given

Demonstration, That he is as zealous for his *Religion*, as any other *King* at least.

In short, it is evident, That *King James* never took more Pains to place such *Ministers* in the *State*, and *Bishops* in the *Church*, as were, if not *Papishly affected*; yet least Inclined against it, than *K. William* has done, by the same Method, in Favour of *Presbytery*.

And there is yet a farther Reason for him to put himself intirely into their hands as soon as he possibly can; and that is, That he can never Trust to *Us*. He sees (we cannot keep it conceal'd) that much the major Number of the *Swearing Clergy* in *England*, and those who are upon the Foundations of the *Universities*, are *Jacobites* in their Hearts; and many of them have not the Continnence to keep it to themselves, but Blab it wherever they go: Inasmuch that the Nation has it by the End, That we are all *Jacobites*; at least, we are all (except a very few) *Suspected*, and that is equal to *Guilty*, in the Argument I am now upon.

Well, but whatever are the *King's* Inclinations or Designs as to the *Church*, we Trust to the *Inclinations* of the *People* that they are all for *Us*; and that therefore *his* Interest will persuade him to comply with *them*.

First,

First, We have many and abundant Instances, since the Beginning of this Revolution, how far he can prevail with the People, at least with their Representatives in the House of Commons, to comply with his Interest or Inclinations.

Secondly, We have found the Inclinations of the People turn against us, in the late Rebellion against King Charles the First, when they were much more unitedly for us than they are at present.

Thirdly, The Inclinations of the People may be pretended, when it is not True, as we have seen in Scotland: And a Set of Fanatical Ministers of State may set up such a Pretence when they please. Pretences are the easiest found Things in the World; as we say, It is no hard matter to find a Stick to beat a Dog.

But towards making the most True and Impartial Computation that can be, as to the Inclinations of the People in England at this Day, in reference to Episcopacy, and the present Establish'd Church; Let us first take a View of the Nation in the General, and particularly of London, (and that not only as to the Differences betwixt Us, and the Dissenters, but with regard likewise to their Inclinations as Divided betwixt Us and our Deprived Fathers and Brethren,) then of the Two

Houses of Lords and Commons. And these are the surest Steps I know whereby to compute the Inclinations of the People of England.

Now to take a General View of England; we sadly find, That the Reverence to Religion in the General is mightily abated, and, amongst very many, quite lost. And therefore a Dispute only about Church Government will be thought of very little Consequence with these.

There is a Spirit of Atheism gone out into this Land, especially amongst the Gentry of the first Magnitude; and Books are daily published, and greedily bought up, to render what they call Priest Craft, the Object of all Peoples Hate and Contempt.

And will those who have no Regard for Religion, have any Reverence for Church-men? Those, who think Them and their Profession Useless, and a Cheat? And consequently an unnecessary Burden and Charge to the People, and therefore necessary to be removed. That they are kept up only by the Folly and Superstition of a few Pigots, who dare not Think out of the Road of their Forefathers; whom these Vertuosos have taken all imaginable Pains to undeceive, and convert them to the generous Latitude and Largeness of Thought (as they call it) That if they cannot

cannot get rid of *All Religions*, to be *Indifferent* towards *All*; and to look no farther than the *Legal Establishment*; or to consider of *Religion* no otherwise than as it is part of our *Property*, made so by the *Laws*, and which therefore may be Alter'd by the *Laws*: At least, as to *Church-Government*.

And how can we deny this, who have allowed of *Lay-Depri- vations*?

Nay, Brother, I must tell you, That this *Latitudinarian* Principle has strangely prevailed even among our *Clergy*; chiefly of the *first Form*, in whose hands all our Concernments lie, and the publick Affairs of the *Church*.

And now as to the Third Estate of Men in the Kingdom, the Commonalty; What can we expect from them, but to be led by their *Clergy*, their *Nobility* and *Gentry*? And do we not find it so? Some think our Party great from the Appearance in our *Churches* here in *London*. But the *Churches* in *London* will not hold the Tenth part of the *People* in *London*: And therefore a small Proportion of the *People* will make a great Shew in our *Churches*. Besides, the Generality of the *People* do give themselves a Latitude to go to *Church* or *Meetings* indifferently; and since both are now equally Tolerated by the *Law*, they do not think it a

Fault, at least they cannot be *Censured*, nor they think 'o much as justly *Blamed* for it. I know several, even of the first Rank of the *Gentry*, who not only go to hear Sermons, but Receive the *Communion*, both at *Church*, and at the *Meetings*. This is a strange prostitution of our *Discipline*? But we must not now pretend to *Power*, if we can *Live*, we must let *Live*. Those Days of the *Authority* of the *Church* are over: We now seem to be in the Height of the *Laodicean* State.

Again. Many of the *Common-wealth* Party (who cannot love our Constitution) come to *Church*; some to preserve their Places, and in reverence to the *Sacramental Test*; others, for meer *Fashion sake*; and not a Few, on purpose to Watch, and Report, and find *Objections*, or to make them.

By these means our Churches are fill'd. But when we have sub-tracted All, but who came hither out of a pure Principle of *Religion*: And again, when we have subdivided from these, those who think not that *Religion* consists in *Episcopacy*, or any Form of *Church-Government*, but look only to the *Devotional* part, which they may think might be preserved under any other *Form* of *Government* in the *Church*, as well as that of *Episcopacy*; though they may (perchance) like that Best,

Best, as being most used to it. (All who were strictly principled in the *Divine Right* of *Episcopacy*, and consequently its *Independence* upon the *State*, are gone from us into the Separate Communion of the *Depriv'd Bishops* : And many, though they keep in our Communion, are with them in their Hearts.)

I say, when we have subtracted from those who make their Appearance at our Churches upon solemn Occasions, All, except those who would be content to struggle for *Episcopacy*, and for us now in Possession, in opposition to the *Depriv'd Bishops*, to struggle for us, as the *Episcopal Laity* have done in *Scotland* against the *Laws* in Being, and the *Reigning Ministers*, to the Hazard of their *Persons* and *Estates* ; when All but such as these are subtracted from our Congregations, I am afraid we shall have but little Reason to Boast of our Numbers.

And though Mens coming to Church is no sure Sign of their being true Church-men ; yet their Forsaking, or Neglecting the Church, is a certain Demonstration that they are otherwise.

Add to this, a very Fatal Dilemma in which the Dissenters have Caught us, and have Improv'd it amongst the People, to our no small Prejudice. For if we stick to *Passive Obedience* in

the High Sense, as it is contain'd in the *Homily against Rebellion*, we must condemn what we have done, and what we still continue to do. But if we call that an Error, then we own that our Church has been all along, before this Revolution, a false Guide ; and that the Dissenters have taught the Truth, in this point of Doctrine : And then the People themselves make the Application, that it is safer trusting to Them than to Us in other Doctrines. For, say they, the Dissenters never went over to you, in any of their Doctrines ; but you have gone over to them in This, which you Formerly pressed as Positively and Zealously as any other Doctrine of the Gospel ; nay, more than most others, and as Indispensibly necessary to Salvation.

And will a People thus prejudiced against us, be zealous for us ? Zealous against the Dissenters to whom we have at last submitted, in our so long boasted Characteristical Discrimination of *Passive Obedience* ? How shall we retract all the hard Words we have given them for opposing that Doctrine which we now profess ! For using those same Distinctions which we now set up ! And what Argument can we find to persuade the People that we may not Deceive them in other Doctrines, as well as in this ? Why

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they

they should Adhere to *us*, against the *Dissenters*, who have kept their Ground, and not contradicted their own Doctrines?

Indeed our Case *here* is very difficult. It is needless *now* to Blame the Preaching of *Passive Obedience* so high in the former Reigns: The Fault is committed, we cannot deny it; and we must suffer under the Shame of it. And we have lost exceedingly in the *Hearts* and *Inclinations* of the People *now* towards us, upon that account. They look upon us *Inconstant*, and *Time-serving*. And that Character to a *Clergy-man* must forfeit all Mens Value and Esteem for him: And consequently for *All* that *Clergy*, or *Church*, of whom they have conceived such an Opinion.

And tho you and I can vindicate our selves as to the Preaching of *Passive Obedience* in former Times; What is this to all that Generality of the Clergy who were never Weary, nor would give over upon that Subject? Who found it in every Text they could meet with? And pressed it oftener, and more pathetically, than any Article of the Creed?

And though we did not preach for it, yet we did not preach against it. We let it go: Which the People think we should not have done, if we thought it to

be an Error; and so *Fatal* a one as it must be, if it can be an Error. They call this *Time-serving* in us *then*, as much as in the others *now*: And then our Subscriptions to the *Homilies*, and Reading the *Declaration* of its not being Lawful, upon any Pretence, to take Arms, &c. are thrown in our Dish.

And it is needless *here* to insist upon our Defences; for the Enquiry we are *now* making, is not the *truth* or *untruth* of the Case, but only as to the *Inclinations of the People*; that is, How *They* take it, not how it is in it self.

Thus far we have observed concerning the *People* in General, and in *London*: But let us now come nearer, and observe their Countenance in the Great *Representative* of the *People*, The *Parliament*.

And *Here*, like drawing near to an ill Daub'd Landskip, the Strokes appear more Gross and Disproportion'd.

What a contemptible Figure do our Bishops now make in the *House of Lords*! It was never so known before. No! *Never*! They are obliged either to quit their Seats in that House, or to bear the Railery of the *Lay-Lords* every Day, who think them a *Dead Weight* amongst the *Peers*; of whom the greatest part would be glad to be rid of them, not only

only out of *their House*, but out of the Nation.

And it may here be noted, That *Episcopacy* was in greater Perfection, and more primitive Independency, in *Scotland*, than with us here in *England*; and likewise as much fortified by the Civil Law, and set higher in the State, than (since the *Reformation*) in *England*.

The Clergy, there, are a distinct *Estate* by themselves, and prefer'd, in all things, to the *Temporal Nobility*: For not only the two *Archbishops*, (as in *England*) but every one of the *Bishops*, do Sign before all the whole *Temporal Lords*; as may be seen in the Act above-mention, 16th of *March*, 1688. where all the *Convention* subscribed their Names; and the Seven *Bishops* who was there, did subscribe before Duke *Hamilton* (though then President of the *Convention*) and all the *Lay-Lords*. And their Subscriptions are thus Indorsed in the said Act: *The Clergy and Nobility subscribed thus*. When the Rolls in Parliament are called over, the *Bishops* are all first called.

The *Bishops* chuse *Lords* of the *Articles* out of the *Temporal Estate* of the *Lay Lords*.

In all things, the *Bishops* there are distinguished more plainly as a *Separate Estate*, and the First of the *Three Estates*, than with us.

But they have a yet much greater Advantage above our *Bishops* in their *Ecclesiastical Authority*.

They have no *Prohibitions* from the *Secular Courts* to hang up their *Excommunications*, or intermeddle in their *Spiritual Censures*.

The *Bishops* there are Absolute Judges of the Fitness of *Clerks*, presented to them for *Living*s. Nor give any Account hereof to the *Secular Courts*.

Nay more; they can Transplant any *Priest* in their *Diocese* from one *Parish* to another, as they shall judge their Labours to be more profitable in one Place than another, and there lies no Remedy for the *Priest* so Transplanted from the *Secular Courts*; of which I have been told Instances.

The *Civil Law* has made no such Inroads upon the *Episcopal Authority* in *Scotland* as in *England*; and therefore our *Bishops* can plead no Exemption (more than they) from being cast out of the *Church*, whenever a *House of Commons* shall please to have it so.

There is, as St. *Cyprian* says, but one *Episcopate* in the whole World, of which every *Bishop* partakes Severally, yet in Common. *Episcopatus unus est, cujus a singulis, in solidum, pars tenetur.* Cyp. de unit. Eccles.

There-

Therefore the Case of *Scotland*, at present, is not only *proximus Utralegon* to us; but 'tis our own very Case, upon the common Bottom of Christianity.

For if we give up the *Jus Divinum* of *Episcopacy* in *Scotland*, we must yield it also as to *England*. And then we are wholly *Precarious*.

And if in the *Church*, much less let us think that Bishops are so essential to *Parliaments*, but that (as in *England* in 42. and now in *Scotland*) they may be Dispenc'd with.

And the House of *Commons*, as well as of the *Lords*, have, upon several Occasions, minded them of their *Frailty*: And that what has been done, may be done; as well in this as in other Things. But more than all this, both Houses of *Commons* and *Lords* have shewn their Love to us, and high Regard of our Constitution, in that they have divested us of all our *Authority* over the People, by their unlimited Act of Indulgence to all Sorts and Sizes of *Dissenters*; and commanding that the *Ecclesiastical* Courts shall have no Power to proceed against any of them. And giving Power to the *Justices of Peace*, at their Sessions, to Licence *Teachers* and *Preachers*, as it is in the Act of Toleration, 24 May, 89. *prim. Guliel. & Mar.* This has render'd our Church a

perfect *Cypher*: And if any, or all, of our Flocks should Desert us to morrow, and go over openly to the *Dissenters*, we have no Power left us, by this Act, to restrain any of them by *Ecclesiastical Censures*, or any other way; and the whole Nation have Liberty to believe any of their Communion to be as safe a way to Heaven as our own. And they have made full use of that Liberty: For how many do we meet with who do not believe it? And think it a thing indifferent which of our Churches they go to, as they term the *Dissenters* and ours. They think them all to be Churches; and the Law giving equal Liberty to All, who dare quarrel with any for taking that Liberty to go to Any or All of these Churches?

Who can say the Parliament has done Ill? For if *Episcopacy* be not *Jure Divino*, why are they bound to set it up more than *Presbytery*, *Independency*, *Quakerism*, or any other Sort? Why have we made such Contests about it, these Ages past?

But if it be *Jure Divino*, then it is out of the *Parliament's* Power to Abolish it; or even to Dispence with, or Tolerate, any other Form of Government in the Church.

So that we must either Condemn what they have done in *Scotland*, and in *England* too, by this Toleration; or otherwise we must

must give up our *Jure Divino* Right, which we have endeavour'd to hold out so long against the *Dissenters*; and profess to hold hereafter by no other Tenure than that of an *Act of Parliament*, which now Grants equal Liberty to the *Dissenters* as to our selves.

But this Law does not only proclaim *Liberty* and *Indemnity*, but proposes *Rewards* and *Advantages* to all who shall leave us. Any, of any Sort, in *Orders* or out of *Orders*, who please to set up for *Teachers*, are, by this *Act*, exempted from serving upon *Juries*, or from being *Church-wardens*, *Overseers of the Poor*, or any other *Parochial* or *Ward Office*, or other Office in any Hundred of any *Shire*, *City*, *Town*, *Parish*, *Division*, or *Wapentake*. And these being *Offices of Charge* and *Trouble*, we shall be in a little time left to serve our selves; or the whole Burthen lie upon those Few whom their Neighbours will call Fools for not easing themselves of it, as they have done. The Effect of this may not appear considerably at first: But when the *Taxes* have Reduc'd more to Poverty; and the Envy and Spite to see their richer Neighbours excused, may operate more than we are yet well aware. If you think that no such Inconsiderable People will be allow'd of for *Preachers*: The *Act* ex-

cepts none. And the Allowance is Granted to the *Justices of Peace*: And there is no stint of Number. I can tell you an Instance came in my way at the *Easter Sessions* 92. in *St. Albans*; there came three poor Fellows for Licences to be *Preachers*, Two of them set their Marks instead of their Names, for they could neither Read nor Write, and they had their *Licences*: And one of them being after Return'd upon a Jury, pleaded his Privilege as a *Preacher* by the *Act*, and had it allow'd him. Nor indeed can the *Justices* Refuse either to give them *Licences*, or allow them the *Privileges* granted by the *Act*. One of these *Preachers* Names, I remember, was one *Bocket*; he lives in *St. Stephen's Parish* near *St. Albans*, and is a *Ditcher*, and *Day-Labourer*.

There are many such Examples through the Kingdom.

We may now see where our Authority is going, not to mention *Christianity*, at this Rate. That *Bocket* is now as Legal a *Teacher* as the *Archbishop of Canterbury*. This, Brother, is a fair Indication of the Inclinations of the *Parliament* towards us, of their Zeal to support the Authority and the Reputation of our Church.

Well: But they have left us in Possession of the *Rents* and *Revenues* of the Church.

G

That

That is indeed *All* that we have left. And how long shall we keep that, when the only Ground and Foundation of it is gone? that is, The *Authority* and *Discipline* of the Church, and the supposed *Necessity* there is of *our Church*. This is all the Ground and Reason there is for supporting and maintaining *our Church* more than *any other Church*; or for having *any Church* more than *no Church*. If none of them be *Necessary*, or *ours* no more than *another*, why should we expect to Enjoy such great *Riches* more than others? The Nation is now, or soon may come not to be, in a Condition to allow such great *Pensions*, when they are merely *Honorary*, and of no *Necessity* to the Nation.

The Bishops Lands (as now in *Scotland*) may be sold, either for the Carrying on the War, or to Reward many of those *Necessitous* and *Sacrament-taking Fanatics* for Places of Advantage. There is no other visible Fund for them; and they Expect it; and refrain not sometimes to Express it. Our Titles being *Jure Divino* will not do: The *Impropriations* have spoil'd that. The Church, though over-run with *Errors*, was in far greater *Authority* and *Reverence* than now, when *Henry the Eighth* seized her *Revenue*; and had more and greater Friends to stand by her:

The *Pope*, and all the then *Christian Princes*, did Detest his Act as *Sacrilegious*, and were highly Concern'd to have it Rectified. And it was thought abominable by all *England*, except those among whom he Divided the Spoil. But is there one Man in the World would be Concern'd for us, or Pity us, if we lost all! Yet the *Inclinations of the People* is all we pretend to Trust to. How have I heard some repeat with Pleasure, that Prophecy which they ascribe to old *Merlin*?

*Henry the Eighth pull'd down
Abbys and Cells;*

*But Henry the Ninth will pull
down Churches and Bells.*

By *Churches* and *Bells* they understand the *Episcopal Church* and *Ceremonies*; and there has been enough done in *Scotland* to fulfil the Prophecy, but that it was spoke of *England*. And they think that *Henry the Ninth*, and the time is now come. I lay not stress upon these sort of Prophecies, but they shew the *Inclinations of the People*, when they are pleased, and no body displeased with Trampling up such stuff upon us.

Add to this whatever stress you will lay upon the confident Boasting of those *Dissenters* who are most in *K. Will's* Interest and Councils, that all will be their own

own they make no doubt of it; only they would manage, as they think, wisely, and worm us out by Degrees. They told us, from the Beginning of this *Revolution*, that *K. William* would take his time to bring them into the chief Places and Offices of Trust; which we Thought, in our Honeymonth, to be nothing but the vain Humour of that Party, and to create Jealousies betwixt the King and us, when we were endeavoring to exceed one another in our Caresses; which if they were meant no more sincerely on his side than they were by some of us, it was a Force on both sides; and not like longer to last, than the first Opportunity either could get to put themselves into hands they could better Trust.

They told us too, That he would begin with *Scotland*, and according to the Success he had there would take his Measures as to *England*.

There is not a Step has been made, which they have not faithfully and truly foretold. It is easy for *Managers* to be *Prophets* of what is *design'd*.

I wish what is to Come of their *Prediction* may not prove as True as what is Past. That is, That, having Divided the *Church of England* among themselves, they would, through Fears or Hopes, gain the major Number

to come over to their Doctrine of *Resistance*; whereby, having proclaimed themselves to have been False-Teachers heretofore, they would easily prevail with the People not to Trust them for the time to come: And so, by consequence gain the Cry on their side, and have their turn in setting up upon the *Inclinations of the People*; and overturn Episcopacy here, as they have done in *Scotland*.

Indifferency in Lovers is a certain Forerunner of a Breach. And the People of *England*, who were so excessively Enamour'd of us, when the Bishops were in the Tower, that they hardly forbore to Worship us, are now, I wish I could say but Cool, and very Indifferent towards us.

What the End of all these Things will be, is what, dear Brother, has tortur'd my Thoughts, and makes me vent them so freely to you, who, I know, partake, in a great measure, in them with my self.

But, O good God! If we have not been Sincere with Him, he knows our Hearts! If Temporal Advantages have been any Bias to us! Or if, as *Uzzab*, we have put forth our hand, beyond our own Rank and Order, going but in the least out of the plain Road of our Duty, tho, as we thought, to save the Ark from falling, oh! what will our Judge-

ment.

ment be! If those Methods we have taken to preserve the *Church*, prove, as it sadly now threatens, to her and our own utter Destruction! We see the Enemy already *Roar in the midst of our Congregations, and they have set up their Banners for a Token*: We seem now to hold our Post but at their Discretion, till they are ready to give the Word, as in *Scotland*, No more *Episcopacy*! No more *Church of England*! But we shall not fall like them: They fell altogether, every *Bishop* in the Kingdom, and almost the whole Number of the inferior Clergy. They may rise again, and will rise Glorious, asserting still the same Principles as we did before in the Restoration, 1660. But as for us now, *Whether shall we cause our Shame to go?* Will not the *Scots* upbraid us? Where was our Zeal for *Episcopacy*, or Foresight of our own Danger, when we stood silent by, and saw their Fall, without putting in one Address, or shewing the least Concern for our Brethren? They will mind us (for we have not thought of it) of the Zeal which the *English Bishops* shew'd in the Case of the Archbishop of *Glasgow*, unjustly Depriv'd by *Lay-Authority* in the Reign of *Charles* the Second, though there was an *Act of Parliament* there to countenance it; they Elpous'd it as their own

Cause (for so indeed it was) till they prevail'd with the King to have him Restor'd. But now we could see not only all the *Bishops* in that Kingdom, but our own Renowned *Metropolitan*, and near half of the then *Bishops* of our own Kingdom, Depriv'd by meer *Lay-Authority*, (not to mention the Dispute of the Validity of that *Lay-Authority*, and the Cause, which none of us did think sufficient for a Deprivation) without Interposing one Word on their behalf; or so much as for having that Allowance made good to them which was provided for them by the *Act of Parliament*, either by *K. William* to whom the *Act* entrusted the Disposing of it; or if not from his *Justice*, yet at least from the *Generosity* of those who came, Unwilling and Sorrowful, as they pretended, into their Places. Nor did our *Convocation* once complain of the Absence of their *Archbishop*, and to many of their other *Bishops*, or make any Address on their behalf, or desire any Conference with them, to know their Reasons, and endeavour any Accommodation. No; we did none of these things: We were seiz'd with, I know not what, panick Consternation. Though all were well inclin'd, and every one would gladly have been a *Second*, yet none durst Begin. We were

Passive

Passive here to a superlative Degree : Our Courage and our Souls have left us. We lie under the Load, though we see our selves sinking with it. What is this but *Infatuation*! and the End must be *Destruction*. But now, at last, if we have any Spirit left; though we have not made any Address, or shewn our selves Concern'd for the Case of our Brethren in *Scotland*, or for our Depriv'd Bishops and Clergy *here*; yet let us not sit still, and, by a supine Negligence, be so wanting to *our selves*, as at least not to Petition, to Represent our Fears and our Danger to the King and Government, to Desire some Redress to our just Grievances; That there may be an Alteration of the Persons employed in publick Offices, and such only set at the Head of Affairs as are sincerely for the *Church of England*; and let us make our Exceptions against those whom we know to be of a quite different Interest. We ventur'd upon all this, and more, to King *James*, and had good Success in it. Who knows but upon our appearing Zealous and Active for the Safety of the

Church, others of our Flocks may joyn with us? At least, they will Approve and Justify us in asserting *our* and *their* true Interest. But who will stir for us, or stand by us, if we Dare not so much as open our Mouths in our own Behalf? It is our Office to Lead and Instruct them: They will love us the better for it. And we may, by this, Recover many whom we have lost. But we shall loose all, if we Render ourselves wholly Insignificant and Insensible of the Encroachments which are daily made upon us: And our Posterities may curse us, in whose Power it was to have stem'd this Tide, if we had taken it in time. The People will never believe that we can be hearty to them, and stand in the Gap for preservation of their Rights and Privileges (as we have heretofore done, and were Honour'd for it) while they see us so very Dispirited and Negligent in our own.

At least this we shall Gain by it, That if a Deaf Ear be given to all our Applications, we may then rest assur'd of what is Determin'd against us.

17 July, 1694.

POSTSCRIPT.

Since my Writing of this, to add to our Misfortunes and Dangers, already so many, we have received a fresh Blow, by that irreparable Loss of our most incomparable Queen, who was our Patroness, from a Zeal she had for our Religion, our True and Orthodox Church; in whose Doctrines her Judgment was intirely Satisfied, and under whose strictest Discipline she had had her Education; and whose truest and most genuine Sons were always most in her Favour, had most Interest and Influence with her. By her Death we have also lost all pretence to a Share in *K. William*, and that because we have no pretence left of serving the present Government upon our own Principles: For though all the World should agree that King *James* really Abdicated his Throne, and that the Prince of *Wales* was Suppositions, yet *K. William's* Title being now become by her Death merely Elective, and all Matrimonial Right ceasing with her, we that are of the Church of *England*, and have ever declared our Constitution to be Hereditary Monarchy, can no longer have those Salvos for our Compliance, which heretofore gave some ease to our Consciences. *K. William* can't but know this too; and therefore whatever Disguises he may think necessary to put on, he must be laying his Foundation upon, and giving secret Assurances to, those of the Whiggish Party. Nor are we the more Secure upon the Account of the Princess of *Denmark*: No! there is our greatest and most bewitching Snare. We cannot say she is not of our Church in her own Mind; but what Security can we have of what her Actions will be, since we know how entirely she is in the Hands, and under the Tuition, of the Earl of *Marlb*—who knowing his Interest to stand so diametrically Opposite to that of her own Relations, (and by consequence to that of the Church which supports them, and which would gladly hope that she might one day return to be under their Influence and Councils;) who knowing this, I say, is so fastly bound to the opposite Interest, and is so deeply engaged with *Sund*— and so inward with the whole Gang, who are so obstinately and implacably set against the Interest of our Church. Nay, I am not without my Fears, That, when the Princess of *Denmark* has suffered

our Church to be sacrificed, and made her own Interest precarious. *K. William* may marry, or may be wrought upon so to wound our Monarchy in its Fundamentals, as in Effect will prove to be the Establishing (after his own time) of that Form of Government the very Name of which all true Sons of the Church have in utmost Detestation. He may, when by *Marlb—*'s Artifices the Princess of *Denmark* has lost herself and us, obtain an Act of Parliament to give the Crown to whatsoever Foreigner he thinks fit, or to bequeath us the hated Legacy I just now hinted at. The King's present fit of Devotion is yet a less Security to us; for if it is put on to serve a Turn, then it is we Church-men and Tories that are to be Deceived; and nothing so effectually deludes, as dissembling a good Life and a strict Conscience. Men can scarce keep themselves upon their Guard against such as betake themselves to that sort of Disguise. But suppose the King is grown really Religious: which way but to the Synod of *Dort*, and the Institutions of *Calvin*, and the Principles of his Education, should this new-raised Devotion turn him? Has he unlearned his old Doctrines, as well as turned over a new Leaf? The more Religious *K. William* is, the more Zealous will he be to Establish *Presbytery* amongst us; and that by such Steps and such Degrees as the Heads of that Party judge proper to do their Work.

L O N D O N,

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